TOURISM, TERRORISM AND SECURITY

Maximiliano Korstanje
Hugues Seraphin

Tourism, Terrorism and Security

Tourism Security-Safety and Post Conflict Destinations

Series editors: Maximiliano E. Korstanje and Hugues Seraphin

Since the turn of the century, the international rules surrounding security and safety have significantly changed, specifically within the tourism industry. In the age of globalization, terrorism and conflict have moved beyond individual high-profile targets; instead, tourists, travellers and journalists are at risk. In response to this shift, the series invites authors and scholars to contribute to the conversation surrounding tourism security and post-conflict destinations.

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Tourism, Terrorism and Security: Tourism Security-safety and Post Conflict Destinations

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

I have long admired Maximiliano's perspective and expertise on tourism security. In short order, Seraphin and Maximiliano pinpoints the heart of tourism security in Tourism Security and Dark Tourism Today tied to complexities dark tourism and the ever-changing world of risk. They provide insights into the two distinct areas, both are intertwined in tourism today. Well thought out and explained in this new book.

Brian Bergquist Ph.D. – School of Hospitality Leadership. University of Wisconsin-Stout

This is a "must read" book for all academics, researchers and tourism professionals who are interested in the subject of tourism security. The editors are acclaimed researchers and prolific authors who have conducted and published numerous studies in this field. The chapters' authors provide an international perspective by highlighting the phenomenon of tourism security in different countries such as: the UK, Colombia, the Russian Federation and South Africa. In addition, the book has a couple of fascinating chapters that address security issues in dark tourism destinations. All in all, this book is a valuable and important contribution to knowledge in the domain of tourism studies.

Abraham Pizam, Ph.D. – Professor and Linda Chapin Eminent Scholar Chair in Tourism Management, Founding Dean Rosen College of Hospitality Management- University of Central Florida, US

"This book fills a necessary place in the literature. It highlights terrorism and security. As the travel industry globally is faced with increased terrorism understanding how to manage these incidents is more important than ever."

Lori Pennington-Gray Professor & Director of Tourism Crisis Management Initiative – Coordinator online MS in Hospitality Business Management University of Florida, US

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Foreword

Ever since 11 September 2001, there has been a plethora of books published in the field of terrorism. Many of these books were written quickly and with little regard to methodologies and research needs. The study of terrorism, however, is not merely another area of academic scholarship. The terrorism literature deals with issues of life and death and the consequences of errors might result in tragedy, loss of property, economic viability or even life.

To make matters even more difficult for the researcher, there are numerous challenges in methodologies used to research this field. In fact there still is no one common definition of terrorism nor is there a clear general delineation between issues of crime and issues of terrorism. In this matter, the field of academic tourism is slightly ahead of other aspects of academic terrorism research. The tourism industry has long understood that criminal acts seek a parasitic relationship with tourism. That is to state, that the criminal needs the tourism industry's success if they are to benefit from their victims. From the perspective of crime, criminal actions are nothing more than a (illegal) business. Terrorism is another matter. Terrorism is political in nature, and vis-à-vis the tourism industry, it seeks to destroy it by causing the maximum amount of harm to a location's economy and reputation. To accomplish this goal, terrorism starts by destroying a tourism locale's facilities, causing death to the industries workers and clients and creating reputational destruction.

Furthermore, the researcher has to be careful to be objective. All too often researchers permit personal biases to creep into their analysis, and thus important details are omitted so as to present the terrorists' actions from the biased perspective of the researcher.

Doing terrorism research then produces multiple challenges. I present below some of the difficulties in my years of studying the interaction and intersectionality between tourism and terrorism.

(1) International terrorism is not locale specific, nor is it time specific. Western researchers tend to have very short time 'analysis time spans'. For example, Western researchers consider several centuries to be a considerable amount of time. Other parts of the world and especially those cultures that are based in the Middle East or in Asia do not view time in the same way. Their languages use a different tense frame, and their cultures tend to think of time as a continuum rather than as specific and independent blocks of time that can be

divided into past, present and future. In many cases, these languages see a future action as having already started. What this means to the researcher is that he or she will need to translate texts not only verbally but also culturally.

(2) Secondly the researcher must view primary documents or materials with a great amount of caution. Often pronouncements by terrorist organizations are for purely propaganda purposes. This differentiation between verbiage and truth means that terrorist organizations publish what they believe their enemy wants to hear, rather than what they truthfully mean. The researcher who accepts what he or she is told at face value might well be publishing a false analysis. All too often those of us who have worked in the field of terrorism and tourism have discovered that our subjects believe that the ends justify the means and that words are merely words. Put another way: this is my opinion, truth or fact until I change it.

(3) Western researchers are often at a loss due to language difficulties. In my experience, I have found that statements made in languages such as English, French, Portuguese or Spanish are merely for show. In order to understand the subject matter, one must know the actor's language and thought pattern.

(4) Researchers are also hampered by Western governments unnecessarily classifying many documents as 'top secret' and thus not only is it difficult to understand the terrorist's mindset but without clear documentation it is also difficult to understand how Western governments might have reacted to terrorism attacks.

(5) What is true for government documents is also true for many in the tourism industry. Major parts of the tourism industry have at times downplayed the extent of terrorism in order not to scare their customers. This means that terrorism organizations often exaggerate the extent of their destructive power while the tourism industry has tended to downplay these same actions.

The interaction between tourism and terrorism is an organically changing field. What might be true today may well be disproven tomorrow. Researchers are well advised to approach this subject not only with caution but also with great humility. What we believe to be true today might well be false tomorrow.

Dr Peter Tarlow
Faculty of Humanities in Medicine,
Texas A&M University and
President of Tourism & More Inc.

Preface: Tourism Security and Dark Tourism Today

The dilemma revolving around tourism security suggests a great controversy policy-makers and scholars tried to resolve over the recent decades. While nation-states devote efforts and time in mitigating potential global risks, further unseen risks inevitably surface. Sociology and anthropology studied this risk paradox inspiring the works of authoritative voices such as Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens and Niklas Luhmann in their respective academic careers. In the risk society, echoing Beck, the notion of security is like a dog chasing its tail. A multidisciplinary approach is necessary to understand the nature of risks that could potentially hit the tourism industry and cognate sectors. Sociology and anthropology are at the forefront of the solicited disciplines. Both disciplines hold the thesis that risk – in the postmodern society plays a leading role in keeping the society united. The precautionary doctrine not only echoes the western rationality but allows the articulation of new policies oriented to mitigate the negative effects of external dangers. Over recent years, some authors have alerted on the problem and limitations of the *precautionary principle*. As Cass Sunstein (2005) puts it, the needs of mitigating (imagined) risks without a coherent evaluation may very well lead to a state of disaster. Still, the over-exposure to the precautionary principle predisposes public opinion to panic and inaction. In this way, Sunstein holds that societies are interested in creating their fears to ignore the significance of the real hazards. Quite aside from this controversy, no less true is that the tourism industry has been subject to countless risks and dangers just after the turn of the twentieth century (Becken & Hay, 2007; Korstanje & Clayton, 2012; Pizam & Smith, 2000). From natural disasters towards the radicalization of Islamic cells, policy-makers acknowledge the importance of adopting new more efficient measures in enhancing tourism security. What is equally important is that, the securitization process, which means the arrival of new techniques of digital surveillance or the tightening of border control, has been recently questioned by some senior scholars (Altheide, 2006, 2017; Howie, 2012; Skoll, 2016). The culture of fear, which is revived by the rise and expansion of terrorism within the United States and Europe, is substantially mutating the democratic institutions towards more autocratic forms of government. Exaggerated reactions against the 'foreigner' such as Islamophobia, Tourist-phobia and political separatism seem to be part of a broader dynamic which structures in the hospitality decline (Korstanje, 2017). This suggests that the urgency is not given to how the notion of security should be thought, but in the fact that we have to revisit the current

understanding of tourism security. Some studies have highlighted the importance of post-disaster tourism in the acceleration of recovery timeframe. New morbid forms of consumption recycle today obliterated cities or disaster zones transforming them in spaces which are disposed to receive thousands of dark tourists (Seraphin, 2019; Séraphin, Butcher, & Korstanje, 2017). Hence, between the precautionary principle which illuminated the pathways of risk perception theory as it was applied in tourism fields and the post-disaster consumption, there is a gap, which the present book attempts to fulfill. To put simply in other terms, the book is structured based on two goals. The first is entirely dedicated to the study of the limitations of tourism security in an ever-changing world. Rather, the second concentrates efforts in discussing the importance of post-disaster or post-conflict consumption making from the atrocity and sadness a criterion of attraction. Although each chapter can be read separately, they were organized according to the axiom that tourism security and dark tourism as two sides of the same coin. While the notion of tourism security plays a preventive role, moving resources and time, to protect the destination, dark tourism –instead – operates once the risk has been materialized. Dark tourism and post-conflict tourism act as a mechanism of resiliency which helps the community to be on feet again.

As the previous backdrop, on the introductory chapter, I outline the conceptual borders of tourism security post 9/11 contexts. The emergence of radicalised groups is threatening the tourism industry and cognate sectors. Places attracting large number of tourists are particularly at risk. Because of time and space limitation, the chapter does not explore all publications but gives some highlights on the most important academic schools which focused on risk perception and security as main fields.

In the second chapter, Hugues Seraphin, Professor at Winchester University, UK, brings a deeper reflection on a new global phenomenon which captivates the attention of tourism scholars. While in former decades, the hostility against tourism was considered a mark of underdevelopment or simply – so to speak the lack of democracy, today the Western urban cities have developed a caustic sentiment of hostility against foreign-tourists. Overtourism and tourism-phobia, following Seraphin, seem to be inevitably entwined. Tourism security fields should incorporate and discuss critically this surfacing theme as a key element to ensure the stability of the tourist system. In the third chapter, César Augusto Oliveros-Ocampo, Rosa Maria Chavez and Leticia Bravo present the case of Colombia and years after the treaty of peace between FARC and government. These researchers analyze the correlation and variation of different variables to the perception of security. The study shows widely the sensibility of Colombian tourism market as a consequence of State policy and its failures to contain and undermine rivalry and conflict. The fourth chapter shows the titanic efforts of our Russian colleagues Oleg Afanasiev, Alexandra Afanasieva, Mikhail Sarancha and Matvey Oborin, in presenting a clear snapshot of tourism security in the Russian Federation. As authors brilliantly proved, the idea of tourism security is individually internalized but, at the same time, culturally determined. The Western

stereotypes forged in the days of the Cold War, far from disappearing, remain active to date. The Western social imaginary sees the Russian Federation as an insecure destination plagued of political violence and the lack of individual rights. Of course, this represents a serious harm for the image of Russia, while – as authors admit interrogates further on the capacity of leading countries to fabricate a biased (ideological) discourse revolving around the East. At the time, countries suggest not traveling to a certain destination because of security issues, these countries are automatically boycotted. However, reliable index and rankings can be used to stretch tourism security far beyond the stereotypes deeply framed in the ideology of Western capitalism.

The fifth chapter (Korstanje and George) explores the essential nature of security and its connection to religious tourism. The chapter examines the nature of security that provides safety for the religious tourist without adulterating the spiritual experiences of worshippers. Religious faith is known to provide the social trust necessary for a society to function systematically; but *touristification* of places of worship is often the cause of distress in many communities. Historically, religions have inspired useful leadership practices and we conclude the chapter with a discussion on crisis leadership ideas that are apt for religious tourism management.

The sixth chapter, which is authored by Victoria Mitchell, Tony L. Henthrone and Babu George, centers on dark tourism and dark consumption as a very heterogeneous activity. In fact, authors are aimed to give a conceptual diagnosis that helps in understanding this phenomenon. As an inherent part of human cosmology, death occupies a significant position in the construction of culture. It is unfortunate that over recent years, the term dark tourism moved towards multiple interpretations and significances. Authors eloquently provide an all-encompassing model to understand dark tourism in these global times.

Lwazi Apleni and colleagues, in the seventh chapter, introduce readers in a fascinating debate revolving around terrorism and its impact in the tourism industry. The South-Africa case provides evidence of the negative impacts terrorism can have on the image of a destination, and it is no less truth that the industry shows greater levels of resiliency. However, developing countries have little probabilities to recover just after an attack than developed economies. The acts of terrorism help policy-makers to improve safety and security at the destination while learning of the lessons behind. This leads towards a more proactive attitude which is functional to the destination management. In Chapter 8, I describe the controversies and challenges of dark tourism as an emerging object of study in our days. Based on the Netflix documentary *The Dark Tourist*, I analyze discursively the contradiction and limitations of dark tourism as a postmodern drive oriented to consume the other's pain. The motivations behind dark tourists lead me to think in a new globalized version of capitalism dubbed as 'Thana-Capitalism'.

Cyril Peter, in the ninth chapter, calls the attention on the needs of adopting qualitative-related methods to enhance tourism security. Based on the legacy of Abraham Maslow, he introduces a critical analysis that questions the fact that tourism staff are sometimes mistreated when they enter to their respective

working desk. Since they deal with tourists, staff are subject to unilateral security checks. One of the dichotomies of the tourism industry associates to the needs of offering an open and inviting landscape while security and safety should be granted. Therefore, people who work often in these spaces should be carefully trained to act when the opportunity arises without vulnerating the guest's privacy.

We, the editors, want to thank all involved and invited authors who are well-recognized scholars in their fields for their generosity and their time in taking part in this book, which looks to expand the current understanding of tourism security, precautionary logic and post-conflict consumption. We wish to express our gratitude to Niall Kennedy and Emerald Group of publishing for space and patience as long as the proofread process took place.

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Chapter 1

Tourism Security: A Critical Insight

Maximiliano E. Korstanje

Introduction

The turn of the twentieth century brought many substantial changes which globally reorganised not only the position of the United States in the world but also the international relations without mentioning geopolitics. The attacks on the World Trade Center (WTC) and the Pentagon marked a new period of extreme uncertainties and higher levels of anxiety as never before. Ranging from terrorism to climate change, the figure of risks occupied a central position in the academic debate (Innerarity, 2013; Innerarity & Solana, 2013). Having said this, the industry of tourism was not an exception. Scholars and policymakers interrogated on the future of the industry while debating the rise of new risks in a more dynamic and ever-changing society (Hall, Timothy, & Duval, 2004; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006; Tarlow, 2006). As Peter Tarlow (2006) puts it, the utopian vision of a safer world materialised just after the collapse of the Soviet Union remained inconclusive or at least unexplained. This new postmodern world seemed to be fraught with risks which not only placed Western democracies in jeopardy but also threatened the essence of tourism – at least as we know it. In this mayhem, some voices alert on the 'end of tourism' (Gale, 2009; Hannam, 2009), while others emphasise on the emergence of morbid forms of consumption as war tourism, dark or Thanatourism or grief tourism, to name a few (Korstanje, 2011; Light, 2017; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Strange & Kempa, 2003). For this reason, the theory of security as it was originally formulated at the beginning of the 1980s or the 1990s should be revisited and updated according to these days. The precautionary principle, which is the conceptual touchstone of risk perception theory, outlined the possibility to prevent looming risks and threats employing the rational planning process (Liu, Pennington-Gray, & Krieger, 2016). Tourism management, as well as the communicative process, played a leading role in designing more resilient and safer destinations worldwide (Jiang, Scott, & Ritchie, 2018; Mair, Ritchie, & Walters, 2016; Walters, Wallin, & Hartley, 2019). The radicalisation of some long-dormant cells like ISIS as well as the recent terrorist attacks in Europe showed the conceptual limitations of the precautionary doctrine to prevent potential risks. Still further, although the literature suggesting the

precautionary doctrine as an efficient instrument abounds, less attention was paid to the interplay between theory and practice.

The present book, in general, and this introductory chapter, in particular, intend to fulfil such a gap. Here two assumptions should be done. The question of whether the concept of tourism security is very hard to grasp very well associates to another second problem: how can tourism security be measured?

This chapter aims at discussing this and other points which daily concern the specialists in tourism security across the globe. The first section contains a philosophical debate revolving around tourism security. It is almost impossible to cite and include all published papers in this emerging sub-discipline. Thus, we rather concentrate efforts in explaining why terrorists usually target tourists worldwide. Secondly, the notion of precautionary doctrine is placed under the critical lens of scrutiny. Basically, we echo Cass Sunstein's critiques on preemption and the precautionary laws. In third, four academic schools are analysed (Demographic, Psychological, Sociological, and Radical Schools) to pose guiding questions in the years to come. We hold the thesis that an interplay between theory and practice should be constructed by the collaboration of experts and academicians.

Tourism Security Today

The term tourism security should be seen as a new emerging discipline which centres on the protection and well functioning of the tourist system as well as domestic and international destinations. Doubtless, security not only seems to be essential for the survival of the industry but also includes complex relationships with the local socioeconomic background (Tarlow, 2014). In fact, the idea has historically taken different shapes according to the circumstances and political climate each society lives in. In earlier work, Korstanje (2020) describes how terrorism, as well as its psychological effects, draws the agenda of the Western government since the 1970s decade to date. While the Luxor Massacre created a shock effect in the public opinion because it was the first time innocent Western tourists were murdered in cold blood, it was no less true that 9/11 revived long dormant fears revolving around the possibilities that terrorists employ mass destruction weapons. What is equally important, the recent attacks in Paris, New York, Barcelona, Brussels and London reveal new tactics of the organised and planned plots which characterszed Al-Qaeda as setting the pace to the action of lone wolves. These turning points have systematically modified the knowledge production as well as the dominant paradigms around tourism security fields. Unfortunately, terrorism and tourism appeared to be inextricably intertwined. In the book, *The Political Economy of Terrorism*, W. Enders and T. Sandler (2011) explore the reasons behind the assassination of tourists and other global travellers as a new phenomenon unknown to experts in the past decades. Now, for a reason which is very hard to predict, terrorists target travellers and tourists, instead of senior police officers or professional politicians. Based on the game theory, Enders and Sandler acknowledge that terrorists are far from being heartless demons or hatred-filled maniacs as the social

wisdom imagines. Rather, they look for rapid gain maximisation at a minimum cost. While leisure hotspots and international destinations offer fewer risks for these radicalised cells in view of the low-security facilities, the derived psychological impact to the spectatorship is the greatest in history. Since terrorist attacks are finally perpetrated in the public sphere, laypeople strongly believe that anyone – no matter the purchasing power, ethnicity or class – can be a potential victim anywhere. This message instills extreme fear and higher levels of anxiety in society.

As the previous backdrop, it is important to remember that one of the seminal texts in the constellations of tourism security was published in *Annals of Tourism Research*. In this research, Sevil Sönmez (1998) argues eloquently that terrorism should be contemplated as a major threat for the political stability of the Middle East, and of course for the tourist system. Tourism serves as a mechanism towards the economic revitalisation of the site, as well as the prosperity and the democratisation of community. As Sönmez describes, some radicalised groups target tourists in order to accelerate a climate of political instability affecting not only the profits of the community but also the organic image of the country. Like Sönmez, those researchers, who have investigated on tourism security, are worried by the immediate consequences of terrorism and political violence in the industries of tourism and hospitality. This is exactly the case of Abraham Pizam who is a leading voice in these types of issues. In Pizam's approach, at a time when scholars think of the field of tourism security, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that the violence perpetrated by terrorism is not the only factor. Acts of domestic violence, accompanied by local crime, are key elements to be taken seriously into consideration (Fuchs & Pizam, 2011; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006; Pizam, 1999). Although tourists are in search of novel experiences, and new sensations, their vulnerability – before external dangers such as terrorism, crime, epidemics or disasters – is notably palpable. Hence, the figure of tourism security occupies a central position as a major determinant in travellers' decisions to avoid or visit a site. In spite of the growing number of publications, there is little differentiation about the nature of these looming risks, as Fuchs and Pizam add. In normal conditions, tourists are seriously harmed by events though they have unintentionally happened. From this viewpoint, they start to redesign a new paradigm which catalogues the different risks according to their nature and impact. Authors go on to write,

> Safety incidents can be conceptualized as incidents where tourists are injured accidentally and without malice aforethought. Safety incidents can be captured into two groups according to the ability to prevent those natural disasters that cannot be prevented, and other incidents that can be avoided or mitigated. (Fuchs & Pizam, 2011, p. 301)

The precautionary doctrine, which is carefully drawn to mitigate the aftermaths of major threats, arrived to stay in tourism research. The axiom punctuates that while tourists are victimised anywhere and any time, other (potential) tourists

ponder the destination as unsafe, declining its attractiveness and profitability. In Fuchs and Pizam's argumentation, tourists are often targeted because of two main factors: their behaviour and appearance. As non-local actors who are not familiar with the visited terrain, tourists are an easy target not only for terrorists but also for local crime. This moot point begs a couple of interesting questions: should the precautionary principle lead to a zero-risk society? may we really forecast potential crimes? is the current legislature and law able to judge events that have not taken place in reality?

The French Philosopher Jean Baudrillard (2006) devotes considerable efforts and resources to resolve this philosophical dilemma. He cites the plot of *Minority Report* – one of Spielberg's films. The Precogs are mutated humans who are able to visualise crimes before they take place. Supported by high-tech and the Prototype PreCrime Police department (in Washington, DC), these Precogs have a vision from the future. These visions lead the police to eradicate successfully a crime because the potential offenders are arrested before they commit the offence. In this crime-zero society, everything was right until Captain John Anderton – the commander of the department – is unjustly accused of a crime prompting his flee in quest of answers. This problem has a serious caveat which was not thought by the programmers; once people are aware of their future, they have the chance to alter their acts. Baudrillard overtly writes that this represents the dichotomies of capitalism and the precautionary principle. After all, risks are not concrete threats unless in the scientists' minds. The zero-risk society seems to be, in Baudrillard's terms, a society which confronts with the Roman jurisprudence where crimes should be strictly castigated once committed. Baudrillard's critique resonated heavily in the social sciences and the fields of criminology (Campbell, 2010; Kellner, 2018; Korstanje, 2018), though in tourism remains unexplored. In his book, *The Laws of Fear: Beyond the Precautionary Principle*, Professor Cass Sunstein (2005) exerts a radical criticism on the logic of preemption and the precautionary doctrine. At the bottom, he toys with the belief that laypeople do not always make the correct decisions because they are subject to emotional distortions. This suggests that some risks of low impact are over-exaggerated, whereas others of high impact are simply ignored. The government should prevent the influence of 'populism' and pressure groups to adopt policies that contain major risks. Sunstein's preliminary remarks deal with the question of why people are frightened, or, as an alternative, why people feel safe when they should feel fear. From his point of view, in a democracy, or at least in deliberative democracy, the debate predominates over other forms of deliberation to decrease somewhat involuntary errors. This is the point that distinguishes a deliberative democracy from a demagogic populism. In other words, the state of a disaster that involves a community might be prevented or partly mitigated whenever the issues that impinge on the public life are previously discussed, debated and forecasted. This belief would explain the reasons as to why democratic societies have more instruments to face disasters than totalitarian or authoritarian ones. Whereas the latter does not provide their citizens with the necessary steps to evaluate the pre-existing risks, the former invests a considerable amount of capital in the process of mitigation

and preparedness for natural catastrophes. Following these points, Sunstein alerts that the theory of pre-emption should be reconsidered:

- The principle of precaution very well gives origin to the risks it tries to prevent.
- Over-exposure to the precautionary doctrine predisposes public opinion to panic and inaction.
- This precautionary principle is self-blinding and hides other dangers which should be faced. Societies are more interested in creating their own fears in order to ignore the importance of imminent hazards.

Having said this, Peter Tarlow (2014) reminds that a zero-risk society is impossible while experts should debate shared policies that evaluate, contain and mitigate the effects of serious risk which place the tourist system in jeopardy. In the next section, we shall debate the pros and cons of tourism security as an emerging field within tourism research, as well as the next challenges in the years to come.

Terrorism and Tourism

While tourism is being constantly diversified in new segments, new major risks surface (Medlik, 1991). In the earlier section, we summarily discussed to what extent terrorists target global travellers and tourists in the Third and the First World, but less attention was paid to the strongholds and weaknesses of the special literature. One of the original works in this direction was authored by L. Richter and W. Waugh (1991). Policymakers in tourism – echoing Richter and Waugh – struggle to reverse the negative ads terrorism generates. Often they are puzzled by the intervention of mass media which packages and widely disseminates terrorism-related news. Hence, terrorism should be understood as a (pathologic) form of communication which combines a political message with the cruelty of violence.

> Tourist areas are logical targets for terrorists seeking to satisfy tactical needs. In most developing nations, the tourist resorts are located in most affluent areas. Banks, physicians, and other services in those areas may be the best in the nation. Certainly, movement is easier for foreign terrorists who can blend in with other tourists. The tourist themselves would generally be more vulnerable to attack, less wary of suspicious activity and more likely to be carrying large quantities of money and expensive goods. (Richter & Waugh, 1991, p. 322)

The main point of entry in this debate comes from the state of exemplarity – and the derived local resentment – of tourists in comparison with local communities. In fact, tourist-delivering societies, which are part of the First World, show serious material asymmetries regarding hosting societies. This psychological

resentment explains at the least the hate of some groups against foreign visitors. Though the ideology of terrorist differs according to the national background, culture and history, it is no less true that in those countries where the economic elite imposes restrictive economic policies – to amass a disproportionate wealth – or in the contexts of poverty, tourists have further possibilities to be attacked than in others of fairer wealth distribution. The term 'terrorism and tourism as a companion' (p. 323) is coined by Richter and Waugh to denote such a paradoxical situation which is very hard to reverse. Poor – or undemocratic –countries adopt tourism unilaterally as the main activity towards poverty relief, but since the conditions of exploitation are not resolved, some radical groups paradoxically attack tourists to cause an economic loss to their governments (Richter & Waugh, 1991). In this respect, the literature accepts an economic-centred view about terrorism which persists to date. From its inception, the original publications (i.e. Enders & Sandler, 1991; Leslie, 1999; Ryan, 1993; Sönmez, 1998) enthusiastically focused on the economic factor as the main explanatory cause of terrorism. In this vein, terrorism operated in the clandestine of undemocratic countries and the probabilities for the United States or Europe to suffer an attack on their soil was not thought. In this tug of war of democracy, experts believe that tourism would be a useful tool to produce peace and political stability only if certain institutional conditions were provided. Their concerns were oriented to unravel the difficult connection of terrorism and tourism (Mansfeld, 1999; McKercher & Hui, 2004; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998). The model of tourism management, which prioritised concrete policies to protect the tourist destinations, was mainly oriented to control 'the spillover effects'. This means that the negative aftermaths of terrorism straddle the affected country, on some occasions involving the neighbouring areas or nations (Drakos & Kutan, 2003). For example, even if some nations – geographically located in the Middle East – are free of terrorist activity, the Middle East would still be considered an insecure region as per international demand (Bassil, 2014; Pizam & Fleischer, 2002). Undoubtedly, it was not until 9/11 that experts realised that there was no safe place when we speak about terrorism. Let's remind readers that on 11 September 2001 three aeroplanes crashed against the WTC in Lower Manhattan and the Pentagon while a fourth – en route to Washington, DC – was violently and accidentally grounded in Arlington County, Virginia. This was the first time the most powerful country – in the post-cold war era – was attacked in its territory. Now three aeroplanes were certainly weaponised against the icons of commerce and the military supremacy of the United States (Korstanje, 2018). The attack which was simultaneously coordinated by Al-Qaeda claimed the lives of 6,000 innocent victims. Whether the symbolic allegories and the reminder of Luxor Massacre mandated on the imaginaries of the pre-9/11 landscape, the fact is that the post-9/11 literature marked a founding event that altered everything we knew about the scourge of terrorism.

As the previous argument is given, those works, which originally saw the light of publicity just after 9/11, embraced 'the theory of risk perception' as their conceptual corpus. Needless to say, though this theory is more than 4 decades old in cognitive psychology, tourism-related scholars adopted it since 2001. Most

probably, the Academy was shocked by the attacks to WTC and the Pentagon. But what is important seems to be that unlike the pre-9/11 studies, which were mere theoretical insights, risk perception theory focuses strictly on applied research approaches discussing the empirical outcome with energy. Somehow, the conceptual basis of risk theory centred on a paper published in *Annals in Tourism Research* in 1992. These authors, W. Roehl and D. Fesenmaier (1992), explored the direct correlation between demographic dimensions such as physical equipment risk, vacation risks, destination risks and travel decisions. Although originally the investigation lacked methodological rigour, Roehl and Fesenmaier laid the conceptual foundations towards a new understanding of risk perception in tourism fields. While the tourist agency situated as the main source of information for researchers, the quantitative-led methods such as multivariable correlation models, quasi-experimental or experimental design as well as complex statistics logarithms were applied to large samples formed by tourists who were consulted at transport hubs. Starting from the premise that risks affect the tourist' decision-making process to some extent, researchers developed countless models to infer the variables of higher impact in the consumer's mind to determine what destinations are selected or avoided. Following the same tradition of pre-9/11 studies, this surfacing academic wave not only accepted the 'precautionary logic' as the dominant discourse in the knowledge production process but also stressed the importance of the economic-based paradigm which postulated the urgency to protect tourist destinations – and their profits – over other forms of understandings and methodologies (Korstanje, 2018, 2020). To all outward appearances, the large sampling – likely based on more than 400 interviewees – gave certain scientific credibility to risk perception theory, though it has come under the critical lens of scrutiny over the recent years. In the following section, we shall describe the contributions and limitations of the theory.

The risk perception theory was adamantly thought to explain not only the travel behaviour but also how the environment is perceived and finally remembered. As discussed, the figure of experience plays a leading role in the configuration of risk-led research (Kozak, Crotts, & Law, 2007; Kuto & Groves, 2004). As S. Dolnicar remarks, the act of travelling engenders higher levels of anxiety simply because the traveller is known of the visited destination. Per her stance, risks can be framed according to financial, social, psychological, physical, functional and situational risks (Dolnicar, 2005a, 2005b). No matter their nature or the probabilities of concretion, there are imagined risks that often jeopardise very well the destination image in the short term. Following this, Fuchs and Reichel (2010) introduce a more interesting division which distinguishes man-made risks such as strikes, service quality and domestic financial problems from natural risks such as global disasters. Although the industry was historically subject to countless crises, the decision-making process is determined by social cohesion and travel expectancies. This suggests that while some risks are potentially dangerous for the destination, others can be efficiently managed. In this respect, Joan Henderson (2008) acknowledges that a rapid, but more importantly, a coherent diagnosis helps to accelerate the recovery facet. One of the aspects that is helpful in the risk perception theory aims to give the necessary alerts to avoid potentially

destructive hazards which lead to avoid the disaster. There is consensus to punctuate that those risks which harm the integrity of the tourists are more feared than those financial risks that affect the quality service. Anderson, Juaneda, and Sastre (2009) envision that all-included package tours were historically created to alleviate the anxieties derived from travelling. Tourists are more prone to perceive risks in contexts of hostility (i.e. political turmoil), or in contexts of higher cultural or linguistic barriers. An applied research conducted on a sampling of 350 students in China revealed the health risks, followed by the political instability or linguistic barriers are the main risks people perceive while travelling abroad (Qi, Gibson, & Zhang, 2009). Sensitive to global risks and threats, the tourism industry sometimes is itself a distributor of diseases or lethal viruses. The example of SARS, which originated in Hong Kong, applies very well here. To some extent, SARS not only expanded the geographical borders harming tourism worldwide but also showed the limitations of risk management to deal with the situation of emergency like this (Kuo, Chen, Tseng, Ju, & Huang, 2008; McKercher & Chon, 2004). Some studies reveal that people who believe in their own capacities to handle risks are less sensitive to pandemics than others who play a passive role. As Cahyanto, Wiblishauser, Pennington-Gray, and Schroeder (2016) eloquently asserted, though Ebola represents a serious concern for Americans, not all segments manifested they would avoid a destination because of this virus. The knowledge circulating in society, as well as the affordable health policies, appears to be a key factor to conduct efficient recommendations that help mitigate risks. Instead, the authors agree that;

> There are critical implications from this research. The findings can help policymakers identify issues of high concern among travelers that require management actions, as well as to recognize potentially contentious issues that will require special effort. For example, the role of travel insurance and pre-travel expenses (e.g. nonrefundable hotel booking fee) in influencing travel avoidance. Public perceptions of Ebola have changed during the events surrounding the 2014 outbreak. Our results may support future efforts to evaluate changes in attitudes and perceptions toward the outbreak among travelers due to awareness of 2014 Ebola screening measures at several US ports of entry and Ebola more generally. (Cahyanto et al., 2016, p. 201)

Similar remarks led Hall, Timothy, and Duval (2004) to understand risks from a new (semiotic) dimension. Tourism should be comprehended as a highly integrated system which is affected by other extra-tourist factors. The dilemma of security should be grasped following an all-encompassing model including other perspectives such as politics, geography and economics. Those destinations which fail to develop a sustainable product are doomed to political instability and the rise of risks that jeopardise its functioning. As authors alert, a population precaritised by unemployment or poverty becomes a threat for foreign tourists. In consequence, the protection of tourism should be a priority for the hosting nation-